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THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY

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CASH-IN ON YOUR FAMILY

ROCKEFELLER WELFARE PROPOSAL CUTS BACK ON SURVIVAL.



THE HANGING OF MARK ALLEN

"The conclusions reached from an analysis of all the evidence was that the officers conducted themselves properly", said Monrovia (California - a suburb of Los Angeles) Police Chief Ray Ellis four days after the police murder of 13-year old Mark Allen.

The Los Angeles County Coroner, Dr. Thomas Noguchi, saying that tests for alcohol in Mark Allen's body were positive, corroborated the alleged police investigation. He lied that this young Brother "died" of hanging.

On Tuesday, November 16, 1971, Mark Edward Allen was arrested by Monrovia Police for suspicion of shoplifting, the arresting officers being Sprinkle and Bunkem. The story goes, as admitted by the owner of Ron's Men's Store, that Mark came to the store that afternoon and took a coat out of the store without paying for it. It was a leather coat. It was a relatively good quality leather coat, priced at \$90.00. He had come into the store wearing his own pea-coat. The owner describes that he ran after Brother Mark. He caught up with him, and they both returned to the store. The owner put the coat on the counter. Mark grabbed the coat, and left again. The owner called after him to drop the

coat. He did, and ran into a nearby bakery. Shortly after that, Mark was captured, by police who had been called by the store owner. It is for this reason that Brother Mark ended up at the police station around 5:00 that afternoon, and was murdered in less than an hour later.

The owner of the shop where the alleged shoplifting took place said that when Mark was taken into custody he was calm and in good physical condition. Yet, a Black police cadet, Keith Lowden, who works at the Monrovia Station, has stated that Mark was brought to the police station "in a state of complete emotional excitation", with no shirt on and scratches running diagonally across his body. Mark Allen was booked at Monrovia Police Station at 5:11 p.m. Shortly after 6:00 p.m., he was dead.

After Mark was booked, the arresting officers, Sprinkle and Bunkem, went into his cell and began to harass him. At one point, during Brother Mark's short and fatal stay at the pig station, Keith Lowden, the Black cadet, had to physically restrain Bunkem, who was choking Mark. Mark begged Lowden not to leave him alone with the other policemen saying, "They are



EMMETT TILL was whistling.

MARK ALLEN looked at a leather coat.

going to kill me; please don't leave me." Lowden left to answer the phone. He returned in 20 minutes. Mark was dead.

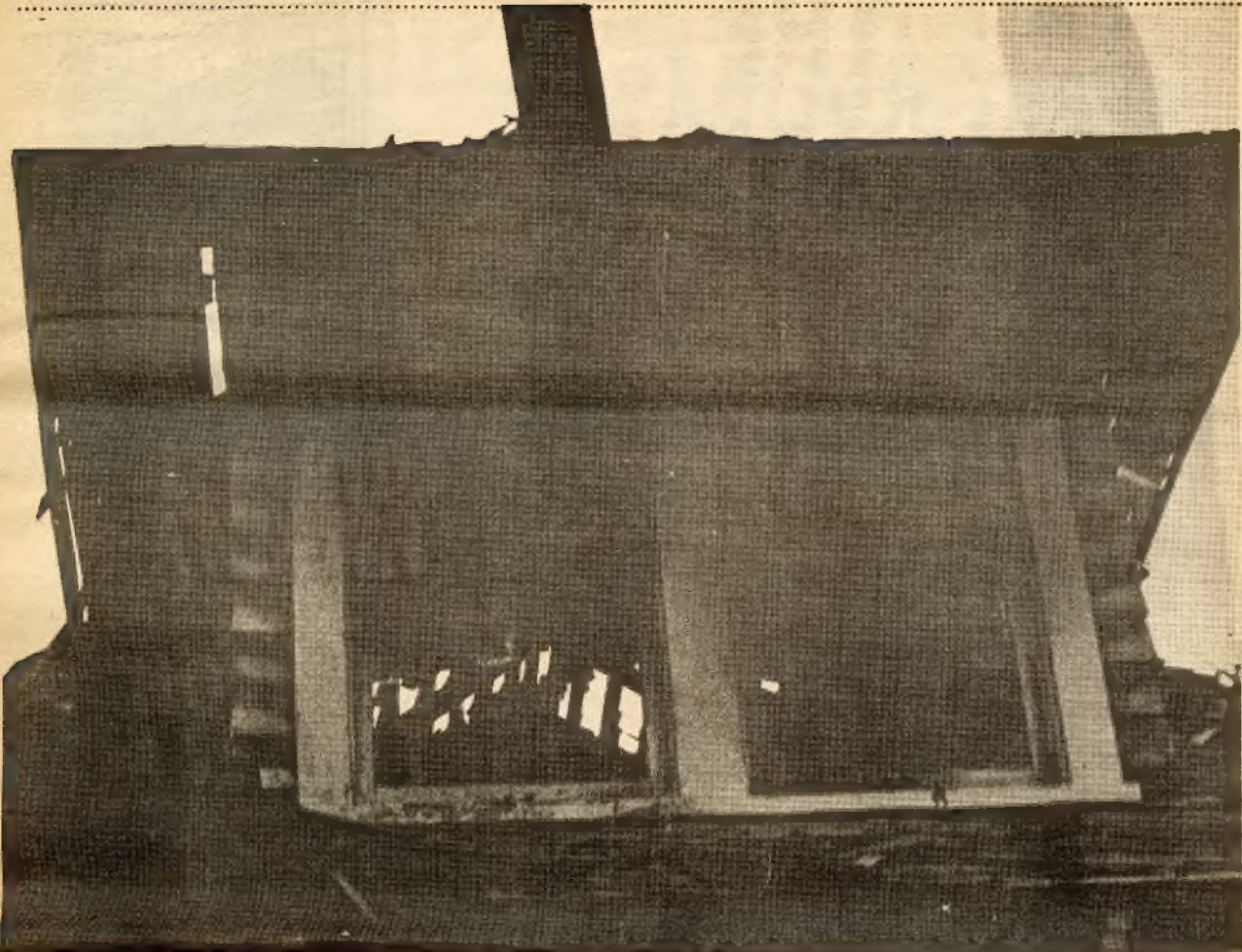
The Monrovia Police Department has "officially" given "suicide by hanging" as the cause of Mark's death. According to police, Mark looped his pants through the jail bars and put his head through the pant legs. In this way, he was supposed to have strangled himself to death. Also, the police report insists that they could not determine whether or not Mark was dead when they removed him from the police station. Arcadia Methodist Hospital announced him dead on arrival.

To cover up their obvious murder of young Brother Mark, the police immediately sent Mark's body to Woods-Valentine Mortuary, in Pasadena. Meanwhile, his parents, Mr. & Mrs. Thurmon Dean (of 1010 S. Ivy Avenue, in Monrovia), were at the hospital trying to see him. When Mr. Dean persisted in seeing Mark, the pigs

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While Mark Allen's family frantically searched for him at Arcadia Hospital, he lay dead in the mortuary.



It seems that since the inception of the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party, the Los Angeles Police Department has tried to close down the Chapter with the close of each year.

L.A.P.D. ANNUAL PRE-HOLIDAY ASSAULT

Los Angeles (California) is infamous and well known for its so-called law enforcement agencies. The Los Angeles Police Department and the Los Angeles County Sheriffs, in cahoots with the fascist Nixon-Agnew-Hoover regime, have displayed their own vicious overt racism and hatred for oppressed people, Black people in particular, by the innumerable murders, beatings, and false arrests of our brothers and sisters.

One means by which they have displayed their hatred for oppressed people has been their unrelenting and persistent effort to attack and destroy the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party. The Los Angeles hierarchy knows that we are dedicated in our struggle to meet the basic needs and desires of oppressed people. Since opening our first office almost four years ago, 11 Chapter members



Pasadena Pigs joined in this year's annual effort.

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L.A.P.D. ANNUAL PRE-HOLIDAY ASSAULT

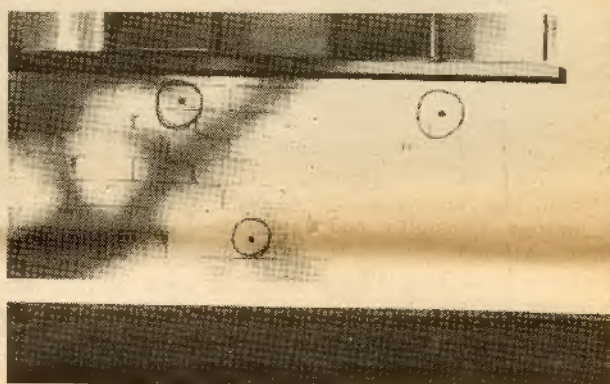
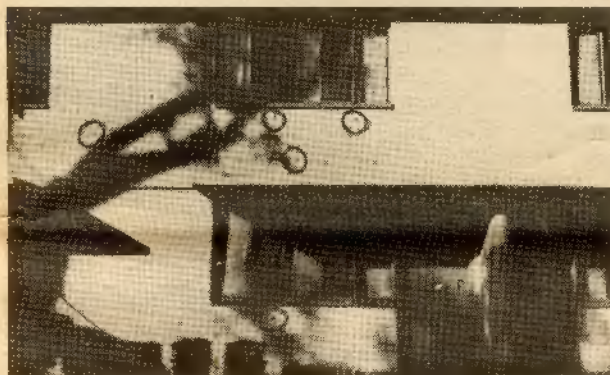
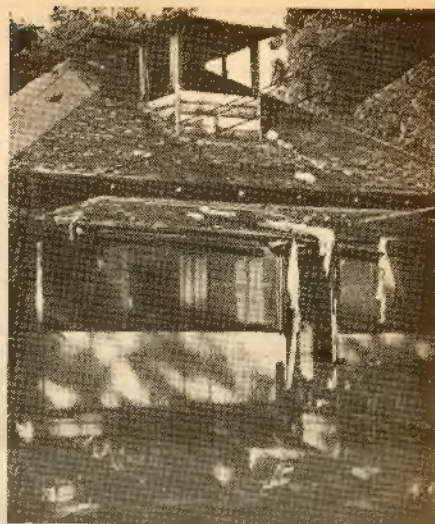
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have been murdered by Los Angeles police or their agents. Our Free Breakfast for School Children programs have even been assaulted by pigs pointing weapons at the children and destroying the food. And, on December 8, 1969, a full-scale military attack was made upon our homes and offices by 500 of L.A.'s finest "protectors and servants", armed with varying war weapons, explosive devices, etc. As has become typical across the country, the aim of the police agencies is not so much to destroy the Black Panther Party, but to use the destruction of the Party to stamp out oppressed people's hopes to gain total liberation. Los

new tactics were employed.

Even their pathetic attempt to railroad four Panthers, and nine other people from the Black Community, as a result of the December, 1969 raids, had failed to destroy the unity between the People and the Party. A more sophisticated plan had to be developed. Finally, the bullet-riddled body of one of the defendants in that trial from the December 8th raids, a young pregnant woman from the Black Community, was "discovered" (in November of this year) by the Los Angeles County Sheriff's Department. The outright murder of Sandra Pratt by L.A. police was committed to foster

falling on other Blacks instead of themselves, eventually destroying the Southern California Chapter of the Party. When this divisiveness did not show right away, the L.A.P.D. had to give things a further push. Their latest at-



L.A.P.D. Annual Assault Record on Black Children: 1969, invaded Watts breakfast program with shotguns; 1970, terrorized Compton nursery, kicking in front door; 1971, assaulted the Children's Day Care Center in Los Angeles.

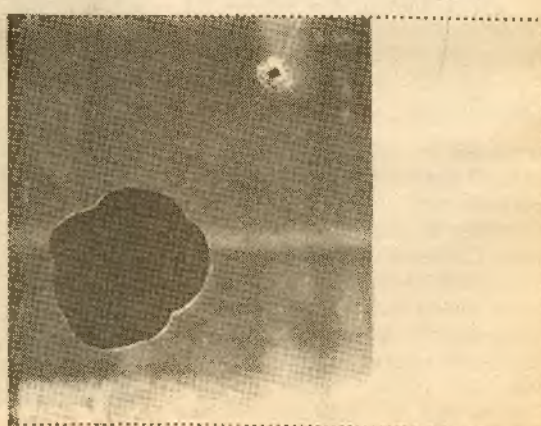
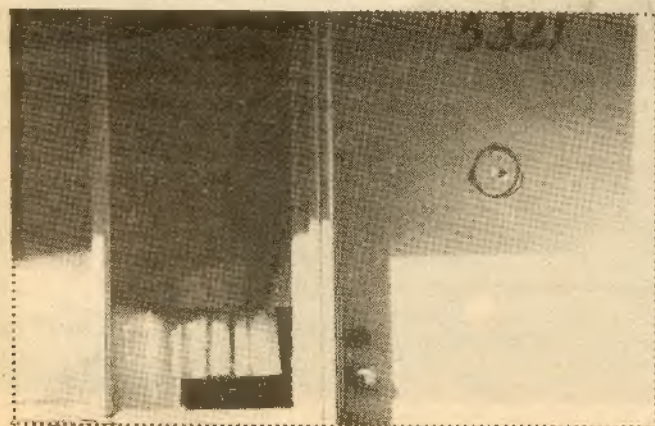
Angeles police have been particularly outstanding in their effort.

However, when these outright assaults, raids and murderous attacks failed to eliminate the Party Chapter or diminish the People's support for the Party and the Survival Programs,

an idea that there are "factions" in the Black Panther Party, which are engaged in some sort of power struggle. It was hoped that certainly this would divide and confuse the Black Community. Even further, it was hoped that the stage would be set for police themselves to murder Party member after Party member, with the blame

tempt to murder Party members and destroy the People's survival programs came in the form of a three-fold attack upon our offices and community centers, on November 27th, 28th and 29th.

On Saturday night, November 27th,
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COKE RAIDS

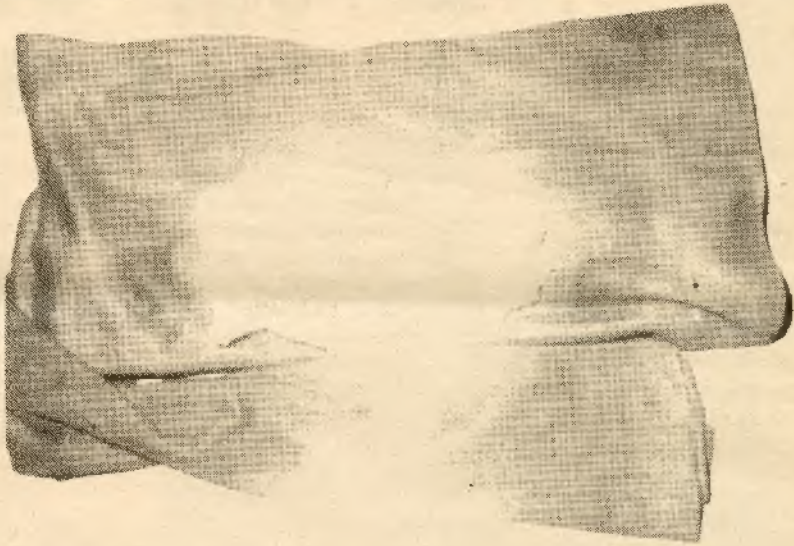
The following is a taped interview with Attorney John Williams, concerning the recent, illegal arrest of nine people in New Haven, Connecticut, on charges of possession of large quantities of cocaine, with the intent to sell.

JOHN WILLIAMS:...In late August of this year there was a group of about nine people (among those arrested were Calvin Smith, Walter Gray, Jorge Ramos, Albert Correy, John Cervero and Dawn Martin), arrested in New Haven by just a hand-full of detectives. They were charged with possession of cocaine. Police Chief Biagio Di Lieto held a press conference saying that the cocaine seized was pure, uncut cocaine, worth in excess of a half-million dollars, and that this was the largest seizure of cocaine in the history of New England.

All of the arrests, except for one, were made by one particular detective, Billy White and his partner, Ralph Di Nello. The one exception was made by Andrew Consiglio and Clarence Willoby. All of the detectives are white, with the exception of Willoby. Most of the people arrested were Black; but not all. All of these people were held in lieu of \$50,000.00 bond each; and that bond was set at the request of the Police Department, which claimed they were all "big" sellers. A short time afterwards, tests were conducted in the state laboratory in Hartford (Connecticut) disclosing that all of this material was, in fact, quinine, and, the total value of this material was about 50¢.

Soon afterwards, all of these people had the charges against them dismissed, after they all had spent in excess of one week in the Whalley Avenue Jail (one of the worst jails in America).

Investigations, begun as a result of those arrests, have disclosed what most of us knew all along, that there are a group of detectives in New Haven, four of them specifically, who for almost two years have been involved in acts of gross brutality; planting "drugs" on people, and so forth. These four detectives (all of whom are white) are: Dennis Ryan, Francis Cacioli, Andrew Consiglio and Billy White. Up until June of this year, Cacioli and Ryan were working in the Gambling and Narcotics Squad, and had been since January 1969. Consiglio had been in the Intelligence Division (which had been assigned to investigate the



Such a small quantity of this white substance could be worth \$50,000.

Black Panther Party, among other groups). White, who is a very young cop, was assigned as a special assistant to Steven Ahern, the brother of former Police Chief James Ahern.

In June of this year, as the result

in the Intelligence Division, White's transfer was particularly felt to definitely be a demotion; but in all cases, they were considered being busted as a result of some obvious misconduct. Now, the story that was eventually uncovered, as a result of the investigation of these cocaine cases:



Attorney John Williams exposed the way "things go with COKE".

of some perjured testimony the three cops, Ryan, Cacioli and White, gave in a case in the Superior Court in May, Ryan and Cacioli were transferred to the Intelligence Division, and White was transferred to the Gambling and Narcotics Squad, while Consiglio remained

In the fall of 1969, a young man named Edward Dennison (who lives at 147 Liberty Street in New Haven) was arrested on trumped-up charges involving some sort of purse snatching. Edward Dennison at that time was a student at Grambling College (Louisiana) and was home for the summer. He was arrested and released on a relatively low bond. As a result of that arrest, it was impossible for him to return to college, because he had to go back and forth to court. His brother Fred...began hanging out with Eddie; and before they knew it, they were arrested on other charges, also involving alleged purse snatches. These two brothers were also alleged to be involved with heroin. This was right around the time that Cacioli and Ryan got them to work as informers, by threatening them with additional arrests if they didn't cooperate, promising them probation, low bonds if they did cooperate. In addition to that, by giving them money (the going rate was \$50.00 for every arrest and \$250.00 for every conviction), they did in fact become informers.

In May, 1971, Cacioli and Ryan (who at this time had become greedy, very eager for the approval of the higher-ups) approached the Dennisons and others (whose names haven't been dis-

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THE THIRD TRIAL OF HUEY P. NEWTON SERVANT OF THE PEOPLE HAS BEGUN

DEPT. 14 3RD FLOOR
COURT OF
JUDGE LYLE COOK
10:00A.M. DAILY
ALAMEDA COUNTY
COURTHOUSE

THIS WILL BE THE FASCISTS THIRD ATTEMPT
TO RAILROAD HUEY P. NEWTON TO
PRISON. ONLY THE PEOPLE CAN INSURE
THAT THIS WILL NOT HAPPEN. COME TO
THE TRIAL AND SHOW YOUR SUPPORT.

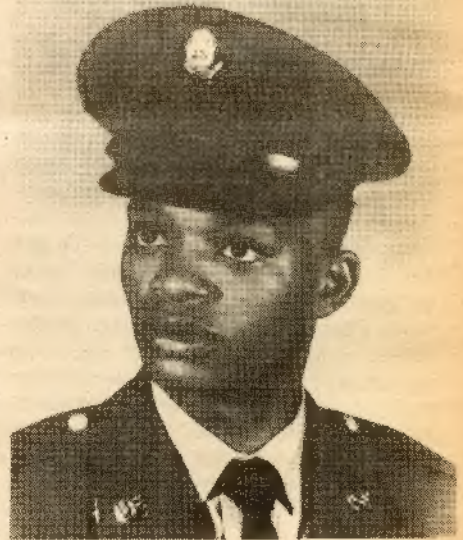
ANOTHER VET WOUNDED- AT "HOME"

Mrs. Larcell James has been a resident of the Compton-Willowbrook community (in Southern California) for the past ten years. She is a mother of nine and is very much loved by all the children of the community. Her house (at 13107-1/2 Vesta Avenue) is constantly utilized as a meeting place by the younger children, and she occasionally gives parties for the older youth.

Because of the apparent unity and good feelings surrounding the household, Mrs. James and her family have been the subject of intense law enforcement harassment for over a year. The Los Angeles County Sheriffs Department (headed by Peter Pitchess), under the guise of trying to stop dope traffic, has threatened, harassed, and intimidated Mrs. James to the point where she has had to file lawsuits against the police for brutality. She had to do something to attempt to stop this reign of terror upon her very home.

On Saturday, November 27, 1971, at about 3:30 a.m., Los Angeles Police committed their most blatant act of brutality against Mrs. James' family to date. Earlier that evening, as is the general custom in their house, there was a party. As early as 10:30 p.m., sheriffs were riding through the community, warning neighbors to stay in their homes because there was going to be a "shoot-out". The James' party ended around 2:30 a.m. By that time, everyone was gone except the family and one friend of the family, Charles MacWaters.

Mrs. James' son, Richard Lawrence, a Vietnam war veteran and the winner of a Bronze Star and other decorations, and Charles MacWaters were leaving the house on their way to an after-hours club. As they were backing out of the driveway, they saw sheriffs' cars creeping down the street, with their lights out. Because of the sheriffs' past practices, the brothers attempted to drive back into the driveway and re-enter the house. The fascists followed them, even into their own driveway, finally ordering them to get out of the car.



BROTHER RICKY LAWRENCE

With all the commotion, Mrs. James looked outside. She saw, with her own eyes, how these pigs were staggering, apparently drunk. When the brothers got out of the car, one pig immediately began putting a choke-hold on her son, Ricky. When Ricky tried to break free of the pigs' hold on him, the pig drew his weapon and shot the brother in the stomach.

Ricky's brother Reginald, hearing the gunshot, rushed outside to his wounded brother. As soon as he stepped out of his house, he and Charles MacWaters were immediately arrested, for "interfering with an arrest". Ricky, after a long delay, was taken to St. Frances Hospital, and, soon after, to the jail ward of the County General Hospital. Although he had to undergo surgery, he is reported in satisfactory condition.

His mother, Mrs. James, has yet to even be allowed to see her son, since he was taken into custody. And, as is customary, the victim of an attempted murder by a "law enforcement" agent has been charged with assault on a peace officer.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Southern California Chapter
Black Panther Party

FROM THE PEOPLE

The following article was submitted to our newspaper, for publication, in response to a call for writers to use their skills to the interest and benefit of the People. It is also a letter to the leader of our Party, and Servant of the People, Huey P. Newton. Its author, Mrs. J.A. (who has requested no more than that be said of her, individually), clearly shows, through obvious direct experience, the tragedy that belonged to the previous generation of "fighters", the tragedy that became today's heritage. She is herself personally knowledgeable of the Great Depression and the Great Sell-Out to the fascist Franklin D. Roosevelt by the parties or Party that represented itself as working for the People. She is a witness to the almost unrecoverable setback the American people suffered under the false hopes of the New Deal and the final cut of the McCarthy era.

We or you may or may not completely agree with every word, every suggestion or criticism, but the message to be vigilant and scientific in work for the People is valid, if we are truly seeking total liberation:

...I cannot be a Black Panther because I am neither Black nor young, but I read your paper and follow your progress with great interest and sympathy.

For more years than you have lived, I have watched and been victimized by the infiltration and corruption of every revolutionary movement in this country by the agents of capitalism. And I have watched this same process of infiltration and disruption in every movement with the least revolutionary potential. I believe that monopoly capitalism began a very serious study of Marx and Engels more than a century ago, and has trained its shrewdest agents to work within, and seize the leadership in, any organization that threatens its overthrow. Had we, the radicals, studied the methods of preventing this infiltration as effectively as our enemies studied the methods of effecting it, I have no doubt that capitalism would have ended with a whimper in the '30's, if not before, in the U.S., and therefore in the world, and the world would have been spared the unspeakable horror and suffering of the last thirty years.

The work of disruption was so complete that as recently as ten years ago, we all seemed to be doomed, with nothing to stop the insane rush

of capitalism into a final crash with the socialist countries.

Today, there is hope. There are many revolutions going on within the United States of America, and many protest movements with a revolutionary potential, and the largest and strongest revolution is the Black Panther Party, and you, I think, are the strongest revolutionary.

'You are on your Long March now, Huey; you are embattled openly by the forces of your (our) enemies on many sides; you have suffered infiltration and disruption within your ranks by the agents of capitalism, of the Establishment.

If you do your homework, as Mao did, and Ho, and Lenin, and Castro, you can develop methods to prevent disruption of your revolutionary program, you can first weld the Black Community into a strong entity (not an all-embracing entity, perhaps, but one to include a substantial majority of the Black Community, which I think is about 10% of the country's population?), into a revolutionary entity, into the spearhead of the thrust...



"...As recently as ten years ago, we all seemed to be doomed...Today there is hope."

Then, or at the same time, the Black Panther Party must associate itself, by providing a program, with which other revolutions and other protest movements with a revolutionary potential can associate themselves; and the Paper Tiger will melt in the morning dew of a good new day.

Here are some observations that may help you with your homework. If they are any help at all, then my failures and frustrations will not have been in vain. Please understand that when I say you, I mean the Black Panther Party, Huey Newton, Bobby Seale

Your strength is in the grass roots. You are strong because you began on a person-to-person, a door-to-door basis within the Black Community, because you began by listening, and by studying at first-hand the needs and just aspirations of the Black Community, because you respected the need for continuous self-criticism and never-ending re-evaluation of your program and your performance in the light of ever-changing conditions.

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FROM THE PEOPLE

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How can infiltration and disruption be short-circuited? Certainly not by examining each member with suspicion. That is to play the game of the disrupters.

There is only one way. I think that is to keep your program so simple and so relevant that the undercover agents must either be your tools, or stand out where they can readily be exposed.

To do this requires a constant re-examination of your program, to correct promptly any deviations toward either left-wing socialism, or right-wing revisionism, because these are the tools and the only tools of disruption. As you have learned bitterly, the infantile disorder of left-wing socialism can be identified when its advocates rush out ahead of the revolution instead of holding steadily in the vanguard of the masses. A left wing socialist may be an honest revolutionary, he may either be re-educated or he may prove to be an uneducable infantile socialist; and from the point of view of the revolution, it doesn't matter that he is honest, if uneducable. He must be expelled.

The exposure of right wing revisionists is even harder, and for this reason the agents find it a valuable tool. Revisionism has a strong appeal to the timid, the comfortable, the entrenched. I estimate that if two agents are able to infiltrate 100 revolutionaries, they can readily find 10 wishy-washy liberals (perfectly sincere and honest and honorable ones) to unknowingly play their game and tear the organization apart. My estimate is based on bitter experience.

How can this be short-circuited? Only by a continuing study of the Party's effectiveness. Revisionism acts as a brake upon the revolution. It may produce a growth in numbers, because it attracts more wishy-washy reformists, but the work of educating and welding the broad masses into a forward thrust becomes weakened. This is so gradual that there is danger of missing it because of the numerical growth.

When the Establishment recognizes a movement as a serious threat to its



"...you began on a person-to-person, a door-to-door basis within the Black Community..."

existence, it introduces both sorts of agents and sets them against each other. This produces the illusion of an honest and democratic dialogue, and the movement drowns in a sea of words.

Is the matter hopeless? Mao proved that it was not, Lenin, Stalin, Castro, Ho, and Malcolm X. (I am sorry I do not know as much as I wish to know of other effective leaders, particularly African ones.)

The solution lies, I believe, in constant examination, not of the Brothers and Sisters, who might be suspect, but of the Black Community. It is necessary to go out to those who are uninvolved, to listen to them, to learn what they consider their problems, and to determine where the Party is failing to respond to their problems.

A party cannot become static. It either grows or it withers. It can grow in numbers and still wither, but that is not growth. It must grow in its impact upon the revolutionary awareness of the broad masses of people. It grows when the knowledge that revolutionary change can and is being effected by and for the people, grows. This can only happen when the most serious problems of the broad masses are recognized and worked upon.

I do not criticize your Survival Program. As I am not a member of the Black Community, I cannot evaluate its effectiveness.

But I believe that the program is an incomplete program from the point of view of the basic problem. I believe

the basic problem is unemployment. The survival program attacks the results of unemployment, but it does not attack unemployment itself, the factor that threatens the survival of the people, that creates the genocide; the tool in short of capitalist oppression.

Unless your program attacks unemployment, you can only offer survival to the Black Community at the expense of the employed portion of the Black Community, which might be a minority.

I think you should study carefully the program of Caesar Chavez. He has welded a strong revolutionary movement within a more dis-united community than the Black Community - within a community of Chicanos, Phillipinos, Blacks and Whites. He has done it by meeting with small groups, and listening closely to them, and at the very beginning, he did something that, for you to do would take tremendous community work, and participation, and organization, but that might be a plan for you to consider and think about. He organized a "Reverse Strike". Hundreds of unemployed farm workers went out with hoes and cleaned the roadside ditches.

By this non-violent show of numbers they not only demonstrated to the growers and the government how desperate was their plight - they increased their own awareness - they educated themselves to the need of change and the potential for change.

I dream of a Reverse Strike or
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"BROTHERLY LOVE" CAN KILL YOU

The slums and ghettos of the oppressed communities throughout America are the carriers of many diseases, both social and physical. Because of the wretched and inhuman living conditions, they even carry death. The oppressed people of these communities have been cruelly hemmed in to these urban concentration camps at the convenience and conscious neglect of the U.S. ruling circle.

In order to deal with the social and physical survival of oppressed people, the Black Panther Party has in-

either the trait or the disease). All positive cases (persons whose blood contained sickle-shaped cells) have been provided with free transportation to Mercy-Douglas Hospital, where they undergo further laboratory tests, to determine whether they have the trait or, in fact, the disease. There, they also receive thorough physical examinations. They also receive counseling from Dr. George Ward and from the Mark Clark People's Free Medical Clinic itself. Finally, constant communication is maintained with them as to their well-being and any other problems they may have. All hospital and

thrilling experience for both the mother and father, rather than the chamber of horrors usually shown on T.V. The father of the baby is with the mother throughout labor and delivery and is trained to actively participate and help the mother. Everyone who has been through the course at the Clinic, including Black Panther Party members, have had their babies with a minimum of discomfort and maximum of joy. It is also medically safer, because complications caused by anesthesia (such as, sleepy babies who won't breathe) and anesthesia accidents are avoided.

On Mondays, Tuesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, medical teams conduct simple urine tests, in the home. Blood pressures, temperatures and pulse rates are taken, and people are asked about their medical problems. They are then urged, when necessary, to come to the Clinic to get their medical problems fully checked out and treated. Since late October, this program has administered this type of care to over 100 people.



No one should have to pay for the right to survive, to live.

stituted survival programs, to educate and to serve the people's needs, pending the transformation of this decadent Empire into a new and better order. One of these programs attacks the problem of genocidal treatment in government hospitals and agencies. These are the People's Free Medical Clinics, located throughout the country.

The beginnings of the real solution to the medical needs of our people can be found in one such urban concentration camp, the Black ghetto of Philadelphia, the so-called city of "Brotherly Love". It is the Mark Clark People's Free Medical Clinic, operated by the Pennsylvania State Chapter of the Black Panther Party. By May of this year, this clinic had already begun an Out-Reach Program. Instead of waiting for people to come into the clinic for treatment, the clinic was brought to them, under the Out-Reach Program. Over 3,500 people have been tested for sickle cell anemia, since May (215 were found to have

laboratory costs are paid by the Mark Clark People's Free Medical Clinic itself.

In June of this year, the Clinic implemented Free Speech and Hearing evaluations. The speech and hearing of over 150 people, both in the community and at the Clinic, have been tested, every other Saturday. Anyone found to have a problem is referred to the appropriate medical facility and specialists, to alleviate the problem. The Clinic also pays for this treatment, when people are unable.

Another program operating from the Clinic is the course in prepared childbirth. This course, which is taught to expectant couples, trains both the mother and father in breathing and delivery laxation techniques, to be used in labor and delivery of the baby. This eliminates the need for poisonous anesthetics or pain killers. As couples who have had their babies this way can testify, child-birth is a

General medicine is conducted at the Clinic on Wednesdays, from 5:00 to 10:00 pm, and on Saturdays from 12:00 noon to 6:00 pm. On hand are licensed doctors, doctors working in assistance to them, medical technicians and lay people to discuss any other problems, such as clothing, food, housing etc. Since September, the Mark Clark People's Free Medical Clinic has seen over 200 people. Immunization shots are administered and referral services are available for any medical situation for which the Clinic is not equipped to handle. Shortly, after the Clinic is in fuller operation, even more services will be available: A free dental clinic, eye clinic, ear-nose-and-throat clinic, a cancer and T.B. clinic and free chest X-rays.

In this way, the Black Panther Party is dealing with a very real problem in the Black community, the lack of free, adequate medical care. People have the right to survive, to live. No one should have to pay for the right to live. That's what the Mark Clark Free Medical Clinic is all about, serving the People.

To help the Clinic continue and expand its services to the People, we need donations of money, equipment and volunteers. To volunteer your services, donate, or, if you wish to be served by the Clinic, contact: Mark Clark Free Medical Clinic, 1609 W. Susquehanna Avenue, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, 19121. Telephone: (215) PO3-0660.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE
Serve the People Body and Soul
Pennsylvania State Chapter
Black Panther Party

CASH-IN ON YOU

ROCKEFELLER WELFARE PROPOSAL CUTS

If you live in New York, and have need of more money, in a short time you will actually be able to make that extra money from your family. This new program, introduced by the New York State government, will soon extend all over the country. It's kind of an installment plan against starvation and for survival. For those people who receive State Welfare payments, this program sort-of tests your loyalty to the American way of life. For good behavior, you can receive a point, equal to a certain amount of money every month. If you're bad, you get nothing. It's a simple plan, and easy to understand.

The fact is that the states of New York, California and Illinois have always been in the vanguard of domestic fascism. New York State, however, leading every other state, has now come up with another Nelson Rockefeller-inspired program for the further enslavement and degradation of that state's welfare recipients. The plan, for "incentives" or points for good behavior as the basis for determining whether or not people survive or starve, is very appropriately named the "Incentives for Independence" Program.

New York is launching its pilot program with deliberate speed, for the fascist regimes in California and Illinois are eagerly awaiting the New York results. If the new program is "successful", these two other states can quickly follow suit. They have already indicated that they have similar "projects" on the drawing board. New York State wanted to fully institute the new program immediately, throughout all of New York. However, State laws prohibited the immediate implementation of such an "experimental" program on a state-wide basis. Therefore, only three "districts" have been selected as test areas: Hamilton County, covering West Harlem (50% of which population is Black and the other 50%, Puerto Rican), and the Rockland and Franklin Counties. It is in these three counties that Rockefeller's latest program of dehumanization is to be fully and totally implemented.

The first step under the "Incentives for Independence" plan is to cut the grants, or monthly welfare payments, of certain AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependant Children) grantees. Those on AFDC who have no other income will be immediately cut back. The cut-back will be just about in half, 50%. (If you receive \$100. every two weeks,

your check will be cut to \$50. every two weeks.) However, the State is going to generously allow a person to "earn back" what has been "lost".

How can a person earn back these pittance? He can receive points from the government. A point is a mark on your welfare record indicating that you have satisfactorily performed an acceptable task. That is, a person must participate in the "work projects" program, or perhaps, participate in an "acceptable activity". Under this program, a point is worth about \$12.50 every two weeks. Points can also be earned by your children. They can "cooperate" with their teachers. In this way, even children can participate in the Rockefeller Installment Plan.

The New York Department of Social Services explained the purpose of the program: 1) To "achieve permanent and adequately compensated employment"; 2) "To foster child development"; and, 3) To "maintain or strengthen family life". An example of the effectiveness of such a program can be seen in Hamilton County.

In Hamilton County (West Harlem), there are 5,272 families who will be affected by this program. Less than 20% of these people are considered "employable" (able to work). Whether or not this figure is accurate, any person so classified will either have to find a job, accept an "assigned" position with a government agency, care for other recipients' children, or be left with nothing, for they will be taken off welfare. The vast majority of the people, however, over 80% (which includes a total of about 18,063 persons who will be affected), will be forced to involve themselves in "incentive" or "good behavior" programs. In simpler terms, a large, cheap labor force will be created.

HOW TO WIN POINTS:

For each school-age child, 5 - 15 years of age, cooperating with the teacher (as determined by the caseworker), given automatically in summer months. 1 point \$12.50

For each child in school, 15 years or older, cooperating with the teacher. 1/2 point \$ 6.25

For each pre-school child given all medically required vaccinations and boosters during previous six months. 1 point \$12.50

For each unemployed one or more previous six months, establishment of locating of des participation in participation in vities, and ten others

For each youth participation in school



ONE CHILD = ONE "P"

OUR FAMILY BACK ON SURVIVAL.



"BROWNIE" POINT = \$12.50.

For each employable member, participation in work (or pre-employment training) either in regular economy
public service employment
public service work opportunity projects (work for relief)
care of children of other recipients

1 point \$12.50
(plus disregards)

In view of the present, U.S. credibility gap (people no longer having "faith" in "their" government), such a program is an absolute necessity if full power and control over the society is to be maintained by the present established, small ruling circle. This incentive program can, therefore, win the government the following points: 1) Division of the entire oppressed community, by pitting family member against family member; 2) The creation of a large and much-needed "cheap labor" force for this Empire's crumbling economy. This program could effectively divide working people, pitting some against others, sabotaging the aims of working people for higher pay, better conditions, etc.; and 3) Stifle the rising tide of organized resistance against oppression within the Black and poor communities.

For example, the State hopes that parents, whose children are evaluated as "un-cooperative" by racist and inadequate school teachers, will encourage their children to accept poor education and racist slurs rather than let the family lose \$12.50. Also, by handing out \$12.50 for locating a "deserting parent", the State hopes to gain more snitches and informers. It is feasible that a person might even hunt down such information on a neighbor for an extra \$12.50. "Participation in establishment of paternity", which applies to the mothers of "illegitimate" children, means go out and bring in that man; this could also be viewed as a "bounty for fathers" program.

If a person is considered unemployable, points can be earned through participation in many different types of "acceptable activities", other than those already named above: "Utilization of remedial medical health services...to enhance employability or self-functioning", or, get well and get a job; "Participation of children in citizen-building activities, i.e., Boy Scouts, 4-H...", meaning, teach your children to assimilate the values of the ruling circle and endorse the genocide perpetrated against oppressed people; or, "Improvement in housing standards by self-cleanup or self-repair of dwelling", which translates to mean fix up, free to the State, the decaying and indecent housing in which

you are forced to live. One does not earn these points too easily, however. Such activities are to be engaged in for a minimum of six months, in order to actually get the \$12.50. (After all, the government can't be too sure about a person's sincerity.)

For the employable member of a welfare household who cannot find work, points may be earned by performing assigned public service work, such as public park leaf-raking, sweeping and cleaning government offices, etc. These "work incentive" activities are designed to stabilize the crumbling U.S. economy. Since these slave-laborers are being forced to work (to "earn" their grant) and are therefore in no position to strike or bargain for better conditions, the government is in position to better bargain with the "regular" work force against higher wages. If such recipients protest, they not only lose one point (\$12.50), they may be kicked off the welfare rolls. Then, the government doesn't have to worry at all. A person could be ultimately pushed to engage in "crimes" of survival and join the hard-core slave labor force inside the maximum security prison camps. In other words, "Submit or Starve".

Rather than wait for the outcome of this so-called pilot project in Hamilton, Franklin and Rockland counties, the New York State Welfare Board has circumvented State laws by renaming the program and changing it around a little in the rest of their welfare districts. In these areas, the program is called the "Public Service Opportunity Projects", and it affects "only" 25% of the AFDC recipient-families in each district, as opposed to the full, 100% participation in the other three areas.

The "Incentives for Independence" program is a cruel joke, a fascist attempt to intimidate, coerce and propagandize poor and oppressed people into acceptance of the "American Dream", or to starve if they don't like it. If anything, this latest tactic will be an advantage for the people; for, the program, it seems, does offer one real incentive. It offers a greater incentive to all oppressed people for complete liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

Employable adult, participating in acceptable activities during pre-employment training, including: paternity training, parent rehabilitation, education, and children in community activities. (See Appendix III)

1 point \$12.50

Over 15 years of age, participating in work program

1 point \$12.50
(plus stipend)

THESE BLACK BUSINESSES IN BOSTON HAVE BEEN VERY SUPPORTIVE OF THE PEOPLE'S SURVIVAL PROGRAMS. SPONSORED BY THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, THROUGH REGULAR, WEEKLY DONATIONS. THEIR BUSINESSES DESERVE THE COMMUNITY'S SUPPORT, FOR THEY SUPPORT THE SURVIVAL OF THE COMMUNITY.



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BILL BOYETTE AND THE AD HOC COMMITTEE OF BLACK BUSINESSMEN REFUSE TO GIVE A CONTINUOUS NOMINAL AMOUNT TO:

ANGELA DAVIS
PEOPLE'S FREE
FOOD PROGRAM

DAVID HILLIARD
PEOPLE'S FREE
SHOE PROGRAM

GEORGE JACKSON
PEOPLE'S FREE
MEDICAL RESEARCH
HEALTH CLINICS

PEOPLE'S FREE
CLOTHING PROGRAM

PEOPLE'S SICKLE CELL
ANEMIA
MEDICAL RESEARCH
FOUNDATION

FREE BUSSING TO
THE PRISONS PROGRAM

FREE BREAKFAST FOR
SCHOOL CHILDREN
PROGRAM

FREE COMMUNITY
LEGAL AID EDUCATION
PROGRAM

AND ALL OTHER
SURVIVAL PROGRAM

INTERCOMMUNAL YOUTH
INSTITUTE, FREE TUTORING
(BY APPOINTMENT), AND
LIBERATION SCHOOLS

FREE FILM SHOWING

AND ALL OTHER SURVIVAL PROGRAMS

COKE RAIDS

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 5

closed, but will be disclosed in due course), telling them that they wanted them (the Dennisons) to set up a robbery so that they (the policemen) could solve some exciting, dramatic crime, in addition to getting some people who they wanted... They started out by talking about, possibly, a bank job.

What eventually came to pass was that the actual incident would be the hold-up of the Cumberland Farms Grocery on Howard Avenue and Lambert Street in New Haven. They (pigs) gave them a gun with which to commit the crime, and they (the Dennisons) were told they should involve a certain party whom they (the pigs) were after. Apparently, the Dennisons were to put the gun on this party because they (Cacioli and Ryan) wanted to shoot him.

On the 9th of May, at about 4:30p.m., Ryan, Cacioli and possibly Consiglio, were parked outside of the grocery store, in an unmarked car...

The three fellows went into the store, stuck them up. But the Dennisons, realizing that the cops were going to kill their friend, didn't put the gun on him. One of the Dennisons actually stood between his friend and the cops (who made a dramatic appearance on the scene with their guns drawn). The cops made a dramatic arrest; received a commendation from the Chief. The cops took the Dennisons to the police station and provided them with the pay-off and arranged for them to be released on low bonds, while their friend was held on a high bond. He (the friend) remained in jail for a number of months, before the charges against him were eventually dismissed. He had no idea what was going on when these policemen surrounded and arrested him.

Still Ryan and Cacioli were not satisfied. There was an incident, later on in the spring, where Cacioli and Consiglio actually beat up the Dennisons because they weren't providing enough information. At this point Billy White enters the picture, after he was transferred from all of the fancy cases into Gambling and Narcotics. He immediately began using these two as his informers; and, unlike Cacioli and Ryan, who provided money pay-offs, White provided the Dennisons with pay-offs in the form of narcotics, making their drug habits even worse than they were.

During the months of July and August, Billy White made more arrests

than any other Gambling and Narcotics detective. Evidence of this is a typical day in 6th Circuit Court would see at least half a dozen people being arraigned for possession of heroin and possession of heroin with intent to sell; all accountable to the Dennison brothers. Time after time, lawyers would see the same pattern in which the clients would come into the office saying, "I was just standing around these two brothers and suddenly Billy White swooped down." The Dennisons would walk away and Billy White would produce these drugs. There is a rumor that all of these arrests involve quinine, instead of the drugs they were said to be. (We have not been able to substantiate this as of yet, because in not one of these cases has the state



COMRADE FRANCES CARTER didn't need to ask Williams too many questions. As a co-defendant in the "New Haven Panther Trials", she was familiar with Markle's "Deals".

submitted these drugs to a toxicological - the science of poisons - examination. The court has ordered these drugs to be examined in a number of cases. Eventually, examinations will have to be ordered in all of these cases and the charges dismissed against the people.) In any event, a majority of these cases were a result of plants, and all of this led up to the climax in the cocaine busts. Up until that time, none of these detectives had made many arrests...

We have filed in Federal Court (involving the cocaine case) three suits, under the Federal Civil Rights Act, for damages in the amount of \$500,000.00 each... More suits will be filed and an investigation has been conducted by the Police themselves (for whatever that's worth); and it is being

conducted secretly. The report is said to be three inches thick and has not been disclosed to the public. A case I had in Superior Court, about two weeks ago, I subpoenaed that report; but the judge ordered that the report be sealed (so that it is still secret). It is in the hands of the New Haven Board of Police Commissioners, who refuses to announce whether they will be having hearings about this report. Most people believe that the hearings will be held in secret.

These cops continue to work, continue to patrol the streets. Even though they aren't making arrests, they still pose a dangerous threat to the citizens of this community.

I mentioned a fourth suit. This deals with the other aspect of the case, which doesn't involve Detective White so much (as he has not particularly been involved in acts of gross brutality). This more concerns Ryan, Consiglio and Cacioli, who, in addition to their planting activities, have been involved in acts of vicious brutality, invariably enacted against the Black people of this city. They are without a doubt the most virulent racists on the police force of the city of New Haven...

Weldon "Face" Clemons... that is the fourth suit filed in federal court. This is a typical case of the way these particular cops behave. What happened to Mr. Clemons is this: He is a drug addict... During the first week of January 1971, Ryan and Cacioli went to his (Clemons') apartment late one night (on Asylum Street in New Haven) without a search warrant. They conducted a search of the apartment. While they were searching the apartment, they found some drugs and a gun. (Mr. Clemons subleases an apartment that is leased to Mr. and Mrs. Daniels.) The cops went to this apartment with two blue coats and broke the door down. These things belonged to Mr. Clemons and they seized them. Of course, this search was obviously illegal; the seizure was obviously illegal. It was so illegal that ultimately the state did not even pursue any charges based upon what happened in the apartment. However, the cops stayed there a long time.

Mrs. Daniels was alone in the apartment. She is a young lady who had just given birth to a baby that is still in the hospital. She, of course, was deathly afraid. In due course, her husband came home, and they told her husband if he did not find Weldon Clemons and turn him over to them, they were going to arrest his wife, and charge her with possession of these drugs.

So, Mr. Daniels did go out, went from place to place and eventually went

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

COKE RAIDS



The Klan plants crosses. Di Lieto's Boys plant COKE.

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o a restaurant (on Congress Avenue, called Acky's); and Mr. Clemons was there. He went to a telephone in the back of the restaurant. When they arrived at the restaurant, they walked up to Mr. Clemons; they tapped him on the shoulder, and said they wanted to talk to him. He said, just a minute. (He was sitting at the counter having a cup of coffee, talking to some friends.) He said, just a minute. The conversation went back and forth until such time that they grabbed him and began beating him with black jacks; threw him to the ground. They really did a job; it was a brutal beating. There were photographs taken at the time that show the extent of this brutality. They arrested him.

Subsequently, they testified that what had actually happened was that they had gone to his apartment and had only found a small quantity of drugs there and no gun; that they had received information from an un-named informant who they said was not Mr. Daniels), saying that Mr. Clemons was at Acky's restaurant. The minute they stepped inside the door, Mr. Clemons spotted them, jumped up from his seat, reached into his coat pocket with his right hand, threw 30 bags of heroin to the floor in front of them. At the same time, he supposedly reached into his left hand coat pocket and pulled a pistol and pointed it at them, at which time it was necessary for them to use what they described as "reasonable force" to subdue him.

Then, they said that they thereafter searched him and that they found in that very same coat pocket...another 140 bags of heroin. Now, this is an obviously ridiculous story, but they

stuck to it. Mr. Clemons filed suit against them in federal court, alleging that they had violated his rights, both in conducting an illegal search of his property and also in connection with that brutal, brutal hearing...

In any event, after all this business with the quinine and the cocaine and so on was exposed publicly; after the pressure became so intense on the New Haven Police Department that they were forced to conduct an investigation themselves; after it was known to the state's attorney's office that these men were liars and brutal, brutal men to the extent that one of the men in the State's Attorney's office described them as bums; (after all this) Arnold Markle (Connecticut State Attorney who attempted to falsely convict Chairman Bobby Seale and Comrade Ericka Huggins of the Black Panther Party) made the decision that Waldon Clemons would never-the-less be prosecuted and would be put on trial for these charges. (Markle) made the decision that his office would put these detectives on the stand and vouch for their truthfulness; and they did so. When that case was tried, it lasted for about a month. In fact, it consumed the entire month of October of this year. During the course of that trial Mr. Clemons admitted he had some drugs on him, a small quantity of drugs on him that night at the restaurant (which he used for his own habit), and denied all the rest.

The police, as I've said before, all of whom are white, were put on the stand. They all told the same story, which is the one I have just related to you. We put on all of the people who were in the restaurant that night, all of whom are Black. We had an all

white jury. I expected the worst; and, in fact, in summation, I pointed out to the jury that they were all racists and it would be impossible for them to give us a fair trial. Strangely enough the extent of the lies that these police officers were telling was so obvious, that the jury acquitted Mr. Clemons of every charge except possession of heroin (which as I say he admitted). Now we have a situation in which a jury of 12 white, suburban, middle-class people has actually found that these cops were lying, that they committed perjury, that they beat this man up, that they planted things on him, so on and so forth...so that's where we stand at this point. Other suits are going to be filed in the near future.

QUESTION: There are quite a few people in the state prison at this point now, who have been arrested on these drug possession charges, drug sales charges. The supposed drugs they had on their persons at the time were sent, were supposedly sent, to a toxicology laboratory and were supposed to have come back positive (or containing pure heroin or pure cocaine, or whatever). The question we would like to ask is whether or not a toxicology lab could determine that the substance being tested is in fact, pure cocaine, or pure heroin, or whatever?

ANSWER: No. That is a different test. What has been talked about is the field test, the so-called field test, which is used by the New Haven Police Department. The State toxicologist, Dr. Stollman, said that test is absolutely worthless. On the basis of that test people have been arrested; people have been held in lieu of high bonds; people have had their cases bound over to the Superior Court; people have been forced to plead guilty, because it was assumed they had no hope of winning their cases at trial; so on and so forth. There are a lot of people who are in jail as a result of those field tests, which now we have been told are completely worthless. And yet, we have had cops coming into court for a long time, testifying that these are very good tests and that they are very reliable...The truth is that the field tests will usually test positive for coffee. It will register positive for any alkaline or alkaloid, or whatever. I am not sure because I'm not a chemist; but, I do know that, for example, that coffee will show positive. A lot of people are in jail behind that kind of stuff. It's a bad scene.

QUESTION: The ultimate aim of the suits, then, would be to overturn all these prior convictions?

ANSWER: It should be. Of course, knowing the judicial system as we do, I think that would be unrealistically optimistic, to expect that it would ever happen...

CUT HERE



PEOPLE'S PETITION

FOR IMMEDIATE PAROLE OF BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD FROM THE CALIFORNIA PRISON SYSTEM OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND WITH A RETRIAL JURY OF HIS PEER-GROUP.



WE THE PEOPLE, RESIDENTS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY, IN THE SPIRIT OF REVOLUTIONARY INTERCOMMUNALISM, DO HEREBY REDRESS OUR GRIEVANCE AND PETITION THE COURTS OF AMERICA AND THE CALIFORNIA STATE GOVERNMENT AND PAROLE BOARD: THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE RELEASED FROM HIS PRISON INCARCERATION IN THE CALIFORNIA PENAL SYSTEM TO THE PEOPLE OF OUR COMMUNITIES ON PAROLE OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND.

BROTHER DAVID HILLIARD, POLITICAL PRISONER AND CHIEF OF STAFF OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY, WAS IN FACT WRONGFULLY CONVICTED ON FALSE CHARGES BY A PREDOMINATELY WHITE RACIST JURY, AS ALL MEMBERS OF THE OAKLAND BLACK COMMUNITY WERE SYSTEMATICALLY ELIMINATED FROM THE JURY SELECTION PROCESS IN HIS TRIAL.

IN LIGHT OF THESE FACTS, WE THE UNDERSIGNED, THEREFORE PETITION THAT DAVID HILLIARD BE GRANTED HIS HUMAN AND CONSTITUTIONAL RIGHTS, THAT IS, PAROLE FROM PRISON OR AN APPEAL BAIL BOND BY THE AMERICAN COURTS PENDING APPEAL OF HIS CASE BEFORE HIGHER COURTS, AND THAT HIS RETRIAL JURY BE OF HIS PEERS, A TRUE REPRESENTATION OF A CROSS SECTION OF THE COMMUNITY.

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RETURN ALL PETITIONS TO BLACK PANTHER PARTY CENTRAL HEADQUARTERS

1048 PERALTA STREET - OAKLAND, CALIFORNIA 94706

FROM THE PEOPLE

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 8

ganized by the Black Panthers, I have a vision of thousands of unemployed turning out in the streets of Oakland and San Francisco, armed with nothing but brooms and paper bags, say, on each first Wednesday of the month, to start. I see them cleaning the sidewalks and the streets and the parks - young people who want jobs; women who would rather work than accept the lousy pittance of welfare, if they could get decent jobs and child care; men who demand their right to work and so to full manhood; the old, who are forced into penurious inactivity.

You would not need police permits to go out and clean sidewalks, and if the police tried to stop you they would expose themselves as fools.

And what a potential for self-education, far beyond the Black Community, and out into every concerned portion of the total community.

Is it realistic for the Black Panthers to support a demand for total employment? I believe, yes. That the right to work is a basic human right, and if our democratic constitution cannot be amended to guarantee universal employment, of everyone who wants a job, then democracy stands (or better yet, falls) exposed. Socialism recognizes universal employment as a basic right.

When the government confesses to an unemployment figure of 6%, 6% means that many people who are or have drawn unemployment insurance. This means the real figure must be twice that in the whole population, and more than twice that in the Black Community. When we end this cursed war against a brown-skinned people, the unemployment rate will increase.

Is it true that automation makes massive unemployment necessary? Of course not. There's enough work that needs doing, to undo the horrors capitalism has perpetrated upon our country, to provide total employment within the 35 or 40 hour work-week. In the cities we need more housing, more recreational facilities, more plantings, more public transportation, more cleanliness, etc., etc. In the country we need more erosion control, more intelligent planning and conservation. The needs are endless. When they are met, then the 20-hour work-week.

I believe if you really go out to

your grass roots and inquire, you will confirm my conclusion that the demand for universal employment should be incorporated into your Survival Program, and will prove a powerful force in educating the Black Community and beyond.

Another possibility I ask you to think about, and explore, is the possibility of a demand to the end of legalized murder. Legalized murder is not only the death penalty, but the practice of arming police and militia with lethal weapons. It is only in the Western Hemisphere, I believe, or at least primarily here, that the police and internal security personnel are armed with lethal weapons. I needn't convince you, I know, that this is wrong, but I wonder if, to begin a campaign against it would not be a valuable educational program.



"For a long time, the distribution was very regular...Lately, it has lagged.... I recognize the problems, believe me. The murder of Sam Napier; the legal attacks on so many fronts."

I won't expand this suggestion. My letter is too long and I have one other important point to make, and that regards your newspaper, "The Black Panther".

I buy the paper from your young supporters who sell it from door to door in my integrated semi-slum neighborhood. For a long time, the distribution was very regular, and the distributors very clearly had fine morale. Lately, it has lagged. Sometimes it is two weeks late, sometimes a week is missed altogether.

I recognize the problems, believe me. The murder of Sam Napier; the legal attacks on so many fronts. Your Long March is indeed over rugged

terrain.

But - that is all the more reason for a rigorous and continuing re-examination of the paper itself. The paper is vital to your revolutionary program.

There is no organ of a revolutionary movement in which the agents of capitalism can work so destructively as they can in this organ - the press. Here any deviation to the left or to the right is most damaging. If I were a capitalist determined to thwart my revolutionary overthrow, I think I would try very hard to get some of my best agents in their press, or at least into position of influence upon it. I think this has always been done in the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, and in now-dead movements.



I do not accuse anyone on the staff of the "Black Panther" or suggest that you do so, but let me re-state my recommendation about the Party program to apply to the paper's format.

Examine the health of the paper, is the circulation growing? Is public support for it deepening? If it is, there should be no change. If it is not, go out to the grass roots - get away from your staunch supporters (beware the examples of Johnson, Nixon, Reagan, the danger of always being insulated by your staunch supporters), find out what the readers don't like, what non-subscribers object to, find out what can be done to overcome

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FROM THE PEOPLE

CONTINUED FROM LAST PAGE

any inertia that is developing.

I will tell you my criticisms very frankly, and if they seem destructive to you, please bear two points in mind. The first is, that I am White, and old, and therefore my opinion should be questioned very seriously by you. The second is, that my honest desire is to see you build a strong, revolutionary, and effective party and paper.

First, I think the paper should be considered the first step only. By achieving the broadest possible circulation of the paper you can and should demand and obtain your own radio and t.v. stations. But the surest guarantee of success there, is the building of a paper with broadest and most loyal readership. Your paper has two components. One: It distributes messages from you and other revolutionary leaders. Two: It publishes news about the Black Community.

In regard to the first, I have the least criticism. These statements are fine, and for the most part, cannot be obtained elsewhere. Your statements, Brother Huey, are a running record of your struggle and growth and development, and of the Party's. They are honest. Many are speeches. You speak so well that though speeches are more repetitious than written articles, they hold the interest, and develop logically and convincingly.

I commend the Panther's published statements of Bobby Seale, of George Jackson, of Ruchell Magee, of many others, both at home and abroad.

I question the lavish use of photographs of you, Huey. I think this is an imitation of other socialist countries, and to imitate success elsewhere is always a threat to success at home. You are the founder and Minister of Defense, and you are the symbol of hope for large segments of the Black Community. Your photograph is appropriate as the Masterhead of the Panther, and there is good reason for including a portrait in each issue.

Repetitious use of portraits has dangers, especially in this country, I think. For one thing, the broad masses



"You are strong....because you began by listening..."

associate their use with two disparate phenomena. One is the successfully achieved revolution - where the grateful people elevate the successful leader to the position of most beloved object. The other situation is the military dictatorship, where the image of the dictator is imposed on the masses. Example: Taiwan.

In the United States of America, even the dictators (Nixon, Reagan) are chary of the use of portraits, which are static pictures, but resort to news photos - action photos - to keep their image before the public, because as people we are conditioned by movies, t.v. and the commercial press, which gives us a taste for action, for storytelling in our pictures.

So when I count four portraits of you, Huey, in addition to the masthead, in the edition of August 2, it raises the question: Are your admirers insulating you from your community? There are many fine young Black photographers in the community now - and there is much that should be presented pictorially.

Please don't get me wrong. I like your portraits. You are handsome and photogenic, and I always get a lift when I go into a friend's house and see a large poster of you on the wall - but I'm talking about building the paper.

So much for my criticism of the published statements in the Panther.

If I were to give my favorable views of those statements this letter would be twice as long.

So, for another, more serious criticism of the paper. As I said, its content consists of (1) messages, and (2) news stories.

In the paper's presentation of (2) it has imitated the radical press in this country, and not the commercial press, because not since the end of the 19th Century has the commercial press openly mixed news and opinion. Certainly, it weighs the news, it suppresses part, and distorts part, to present it in a light favorable to the Establishment. But it keeps its cool. It presents the facts it does present as simply, as clearly, as briefly as possible. Because the readers want brief, clear, straightforward stories. Readers want to be given the facts and allowed to draw the conclusions ourselves. When the story tells us what we are supposed to learn from it, it insults our intelligence. It says, "I, the news writer, am more intelligent than you, the reader."

Yet, the radical press is apparently incapable of giving its readers the benefit of the doubt. Their news reporting is always mixed with bombastic editorializing. Their circulation, an editor once conceded to me, is small, and much of that is to the FBI.

From its beginning, your paper copied the style of the radical press - each news story was related with rage and indignation.

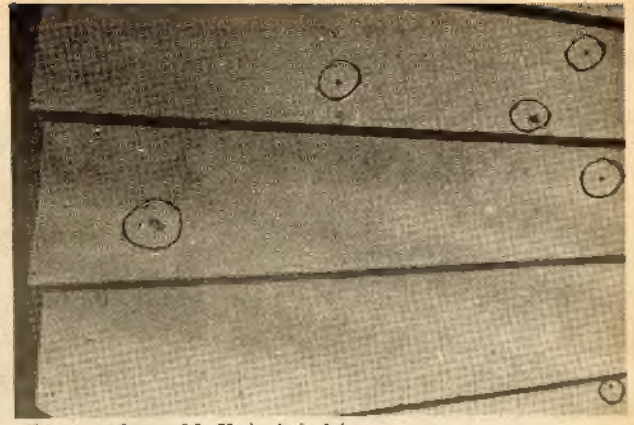
Yet it worked for you. I think your readers, with 400 years of pent-up rage and indignation, welcomed reading the expression of their feelings.

It was a fine catharsis. It served a useful purpose. Perhaps it still does, and if so, that's it. Only the community at large can answer that question.

But - a word of caution. Even if it still does, it will not always do so. It has two inherent dangers. One is that repetition loses its effectiveness, its force. I do not question the truth of any of the stories, and I know that each one does truly reflect the injustice that the reporter shouts against. But the facts do that. Your readers are intelligent. They can draw a right conclusion once you give them the true story.

And when you give them the facts and leave the conclusions to them, you are, I think, more likely to produce action. When we vent a lot of emotion we feel so good we don't have to act, especially where it is second-hand emotion.

POWER TO THE PEOPLE, Huey



Two years ago, several thousand times this number of bullets tried to destroy the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party.

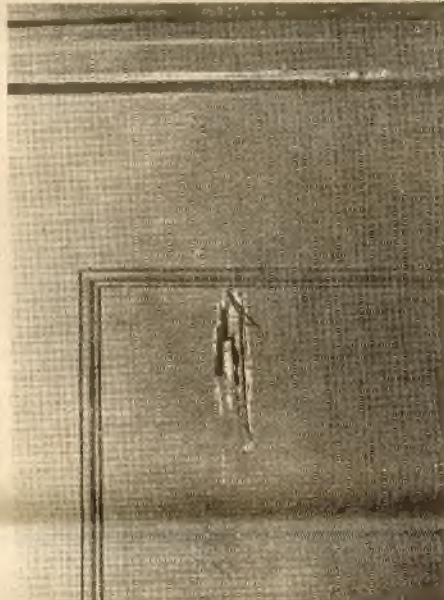
L.A.P.D. ANNUAL PRE- HOLIDAY ASSAULT

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 4

the People's Community Center in Pasadena (California), which was also a newspaper distribution center and site for a Free Breakfast for Children program, was literally set afire by the Pasadena Police Department (Los Angeles Police Department subsidiary). The police, after setting the fire, parked in the yard, and sat and watched the second floor of the Center burn down before any firemen were told to begin their work of extinguishing the fire, or chopping down what was left.

The next night, Sunday, November 28th, in Los Angeles, at approximately 11:45 p.m., these agents and enforcers of law and order (specifically the L.A.P.D.) fired about 9 shots into a Children's Day Care Center of the Southern California Chapter. The Day Care Center houses the preschool children of Party members and community workers, who participate and work in the Survival Programs. Fortunately, none of the babies were injured. And, although the Center is located in the midst of a housing project, none of the neighbors was injured by stray bullets. Bullet holes were found in the downstairs window, the door, and upstairs, where it was well-known that the small occupants of the house slept. In fact, it is common knowledge that this particular facility is used only as a day care center for babies and small children.

At about 3:30 a.m. that next morning (November 29th), at least 15 shots from a .380 automatic pistol (of the type now used by the L.A.P.D.) were



Three hours later, the door opened to the hungry children who came to enjoy a free hot breakfast.

fired into the Chapter's Community Information Center in Compton, California. Again, no one was injured, despite the fact that slugs and casings were found throughout the Center, in doors, the refrigerator, chairs, and walls. Just seconds prior to the

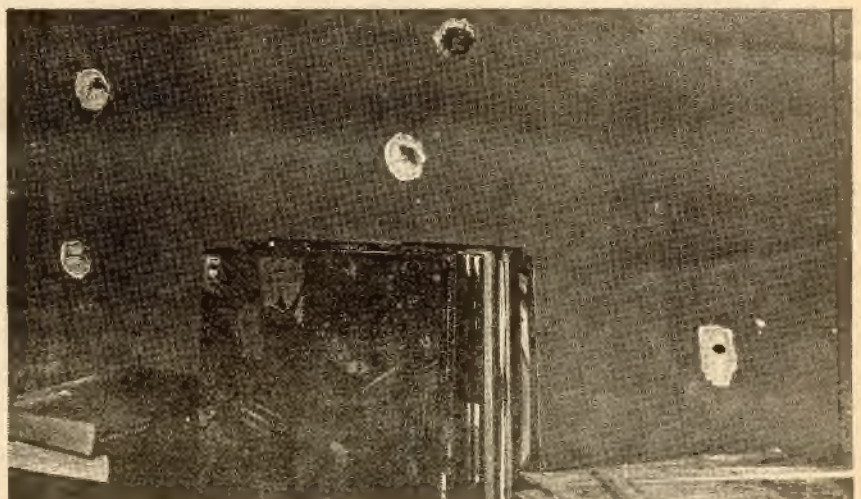
shooting, a red van was seen creeping slowly down Stockwell Avenue, the street on which the Center is located. After the driver and passenger of the van conferred with L.A. County sheriffs (who were stationed on the corner of Stockwell), the van passed by the front of the Center. The two white racists inside the van began rapidly firing into the Center.

However, this latest attempt to intimidate and kill was also in vain. No one was injured nor did any Survival Programs cease to function. The next morning at 7:00 a.m., the doors were opened to welcome the children to the daily, free hot breakfast programs.

In spite of the vicious harassment and murderous plans and practices of the Los Angeles Police Department, the Southern California Chapter of the Black Panther Party cannot be destroyed. For the strength of the Chapter, as of the entire Party, lies not in the numbers of the Party members, but with the People; and the People are moving steadily toward total liberation.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE!

Southern California Chapter
Black Panther Party



up the Panther office?", ask the Los Angeles Police. "Who has automatic p. 's that fire .380 cartridges?" Ask the Los Angeles Police.

THE HANGING OF MARK ALLEN



Mark Allen's struggle for a little dignity will be remembered by his friends.

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threatened to arrest him also, for disturbing the peace. Before the family could see the body, an autopsy had been performed and the body had been "prepared" for burial.

The out-right murder of Mark Allen was followed by a series of events that left no doubt as to how the Black community felt about this "suicide". The enraged Black residents of the Monrovia-Duarte area began protesting, openly and violently, to this overt attack upon the Black community. The insult of open murder, not even said to be justifiable homicide, being called suicide was a clear indication that the entire community's survival was at stake.

Mark had been a 7th grade student at the Clifton Middle High School, and, in his memory, school was cancelled by his fellow students. Mark's school-mates and friends went out into the community and collected over \$400.00 in donations to help the family with burial expenses. In behalf of the family and the Black community in Monrovia-Duarte, the local branch of the NAACP filed a resolution with the Los Angeles County Grand Jury to seek both a county and federal Grand Jury investigation.

However, the entire community joined together in more firm statements. Within a week, more than 21 locations throughout these little racist

suburbs were fire-bombed. Molotov cocktails are attributed as the causes of 90% of the fires.

After lying about Brother Mark's death, Monrovia Pig Chief Ray Ellis had nerve enough to then say that this sudden rise in "unexplained" fires had nothing to do with Mark's murder. If pig Chief Ellis actually believes that, then we may logically assume that he will believe that the total transformation of this society into the full control of all the People will have had nothing to do with several hundred years of Mark Allens.

ALL POWER TO THE PEOPLE

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